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CONSTRAINTS OF HAUNTED HERITAGE TOURISM IN LOGAN, UTAH

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

American Studies—Folklore

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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

It has become common in Salem, Savannah, New Orleans, Edinburg, or Gettysburg, to witness groups of people being led through the darkened streets as part of a ghost tour or haunted history walk. An altered form of commercialized legend tripping, these companies offer guided tours, feature spooky stories, and often showcase local history. However, the trend of haunted heritage tourism, especially in the form of ghost walks and haunted history tours, has spread beyond places with national or international reputations for hauntings and is now growing in small towns whose stories are rarely shared beyond the local populace.

This thesis examines a seasonal Utah haunted heritage event—Logan Ghost Tours (LGT)—and identifies the constraints that are being faced due to commodification. Annually they deal with issues of legal, physical access to locations, tour time, and travel distance while formatting a tour for the public. I look at the pragmatic constraints that result from the commodification of this recognized folk genre, the ways in which this company responds to those constraints, and the resulting impact on the form and content of the tour.

Through the purposeful selection of buildings and stories, the Logan Downtown Alliance has brought attention to specific locations and highlighted their significance to the town within the context of the tour. Regardless of the historical accuracy of the tour's content, the Downtown Alliance and their collaborators continue to identify meaningful spaces in Logan and fill them each year with stories and many diverse people to experience them.

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Constraints of Haunted Heritage Tourism in Logan, Utah

Introduction

On a chilly October evening a group of young students creep slowly up a road, one of many turn offs from the narrow highway winding through Logan Canyon in Northern Utah's Cache County. The headlights of the car have been turned off, and those inside stay alert for any sign of glowing red eyes or the faint sounds of a baby's cry. They have come to St. Ann's Retreat (locally known as "the Nunnery") where legends tell of pregnant Catholic nuns, murdered infants, and hell hounds patrolling the grounds. The buildings they seek are located on private property; however, this does not stop them. Rather, it adds to the fear and excitement that makes up their adventure—what folklorists call a "legend trip."¹ First, stories would be circulated about the place they have decided to visit. They will then enter the legend-laden landscape and test for themselves if the tales are to be believed by attempting to summon a witch or standing in the sunken, empty pool where so many babies allegedly lost their chances to live. Finally, they will leave the space—as long as they haven't been taken by the evil Mother Superior or apprehended by local law enforcement²—and reconvene to discuss their own experiences, which can now be added to the plethora of stories told about the haunted Nunnery up in Logan Canyon.

That same night, less than twenty miles away, a group of fifteen to twenty people exit St. John's Episcopal Church into the lamp-lit dusk, carrying flashing blue glow wands that distinguish them from others walking on the streets of Logan. They follow a young woman wearing a wedding dress splashed with red. The group is heading to the first of three storytellers dispersed in buildings along Main Street—they will visit three locations and sit and listen to

three stories that take place in historic downtown Logan. Some of the stories will be tragic, while others feature a glint of humor. The evening will end with a theatrical performance in a derelict building, and the guests will leave with their souvenir glow sticks, tales of the Logan that used to be, and knowledge of a few spirits that might still be lingering today (Logan Ghost Tours: 2016).

The first example describes what folklorists call "legend tripping," while the second is commonly known as haunted heritage tourism. Legend tripping is an activity that is characterized by adolescents³ going to a specific place that is associated with a legend (which tends to be scary or supernatural) with the intent of "testing that legend" through prescribed action (Holly and Cordy in de Vos 2012: 30). Haunted heritage tourism, on the other hand, is a form of cultural tourism that relies on "ghosts [as] a type of disembodied heritage" (Hanks 2015: 15). There are several similarities between these two scenarios. In both cases, groups of people purposefully enter specific locations where they are told stories pertaining to the space and events that have allegedly taken place there. However, there are also several differences. While the tour group has paid money for the scripted experience provided seasonally by the Logan Downtown Alliance, the individuals exploring "the Nunnery" are taking part in activities that have not been sanctioned; in fact, they have often been condemned for their illegality. Additionally, legend tripping has often (but not always) been characterized as an adolescent or young adult activity, while haunted heritage tourism, in its diverse forms, offers itself to a more varied demographic. This thesis will explore these and some of the other differences between folk legend tripping and the commercial endeavors of haunted heritage tourism. Specifically, I examine the pragmatic constraints created by the commodification of this recognized folk genre.

It has become commonplace for those out on the streets of Salem, Savannah, New Orleans, Edinburg, or Gettysburg, to witness groups of people being led through the darkened

streets by a guide—often costumed—as part of a ghost tour or haunted history walk. Many of these cities, recognized for their haunted heritage, offer these tours not just for the Halloween season, but all year round. A form of commercialized legend tripping, these companies offer guided tours, feature spooky stories, and often showcase local history and architecture. However, the trend of haunted heritage tourism, especially in the form of ghost walks and haunted history tours, has spread beyond places with national or international reputations for hauntings and is now common in small towns whose stories are rarely shared beyond the local populace.

Recent studies have reflected the increased commercial attention to the supernatural. Cities with pronounced and recognized connections to the supernatural have been studied through various disciplinary lenses with regard to the commodification of their well-known legends (Goldstein, Grider, and Thomas, 2007, Thomas 2015, Thompson 2010, Gentry 2007). These studies—from the fields of theater and performance, folklore, and geography—tend to focus on the performative aspect of the commercial legends and the ways in which guests are involved with that act of performing the material. This commodification is not new, and neither are the actions that are being commodified, but it is being seen on a smaller scale now, making the link to legend tripping more pronounced and the differences between the two stand out.

While several authors have examined various aspects of haunted heritage tourism, there has been a lack of attention paid to places that are not necessarily known for their haunted heritage, but have nonetheless created haunted heritage tourism activities. There have also been a number of studies concerned with the performance aspects of the tours, though there has been a lack of research on the logistics of and pragmatic constraints associated with this kind of tourism. This thesis examines a seasonal Utah haunted heritage event—Logan Ghost Tours (LGT)—and identify the constraints that are faced by the company due to commodification. In addition, I

examine the ways in which this company responds to those constraints and the resulting impact on the form and content of the tour. I will consider the tour's function on a community level as well as its application to comparative legend trip scholarship on a broader level.

I begin by providing a brief background on legend tripping and some of its commodified counterparts. I then present a case study and determine the main constraints that the company deals with as a result of commodification. Understanding how ghost tours function in the way that the consumers—guests and/or tourists—expect them to function will also be a relevant aspect of my analysis. Finally, I discuss the ways in which this company deals with these constraints and the resulting impact on tour content.

Careful consideration of the commodification of legend tripping is significant because it is important to acknowledge that this process is a reshaping of the ways in which the original traditions function; this new form can be viewed as a separate phenomenon. In order for the tour companies to exist, they must provide a product that appeals to guests, while facing constraints in a different way than the average folk-legend tripper. The constraints of commodification unquestionably impact the form and content of heritage tourism, and the goal of this thesis is to produce a better understanding of what those impacts are and how they function to shape haunted heritage tourism today.

Legend, Legend Trips, and Haunted Heritage

In conjunction with local history, legends constitute the majority of ghost walk material. Linda Dégh stresses the irrelevance of whether or not a legend is true; rather, the vital aspect of legends as a form of folk narrative is that they communicate important beliefs and localized cultural perceptions. According to legend scholars, “legends are communicative acts that serve

specific [purposes] for the groups in which the legends circulate” (Kinsella 2007: 5). Dégh convincingly argues against a singular definition of the legend in her book *Legend and Belief* (2001), but for the purpose of clarity and consistency this thesis will refer to a ‘legend’ according to the definition provided by Jan Brunvand in *American Folklore: an Encyclopedia*: “a monoepisodic, localized, and historicized traditional narrative told as believable in a conversational mode” (1996: 437).

One way of interacting with legendary material is through the act of “legend tripping.” Because legends as a genre take place in the “real world” and are told as true or believable, their content lends itself to “ostension,” which “refers to the process by which people act out themes or events found within folk narratives” (Fine 1991:179). Legend tripping is one type of ostension, in which “people act on the legends, using them as blueprints or maps for behavior with the new narratives of their experiences being told and retold to validate the original legend” (de Vos 1996:56).

Legend tripping has been studied by folklorists since the 1960s. According to folklorist Bill Ellis, legend trips define the properties of certain locations. He states that “in this common Anglo-American practice, young people travel in groups...to a place that is ‘forbidden to all’ by [a] legend they know.” The participants then “perform rituals intended to invoke supernatural beings” and hope to interact with the stuff of the legends themselves. (2004: 112) Libby Tucker (2006) offers the term “legend questing” as a variation for non-adolescent participation in this phenomenon, which she says occurs with different intentions and motivations. Other folklore scholars, including Tim Prizer and Elizabeth Bird have focused on themes such as belief and disbelief, interactions between the sexes, fear, and motivations for engaging in legend tripping.

Ellis, Tucker, and other legend trip scholars usually consider the importance of a legend trip to be grounded in its “local” connections, and commercialism and tourism have both recognized the appeal of this activity and worked to monetize the value of that locality. Due to the emphasis of legend trips and their grounding in physical space, it is important to acknowledge local history and the role of the built environment in this research. Kitterage states that “the past cannot be remembered as it happened...the past must be reproduced” (quoted in Henderson 1998: 97). This is constantly happening when individuals decide to associate stories with or share legends about specific pieces of the physical landscape. The desire to highlight the local landscape is often one of many reasons for the introduction of haunted heritage tourism to an area.

Ghost walks and haunted history tours have recently become a popular form of supernatural entertainment. While it is still a fairly recent addition to academic study, there have been several pieces written on these events both in the United States and the United Kingdom, by scholars from a variety of fields. In 2007, geographer Glenn Gentry published an article entitled “Walking with the Dead: The Place of Ghost Walk Tourism in Savannah, Georgia” based on an unpublished master's thesis written at East Carolina University. In his article Gentry focuses on the ways in which the tour experience is negotiated and altered by the tour participants. In 2010, Robert C. Thompson published ““Am I Going to See a Ghost Tonight?”: Gettysburg Ghost Tours and the Performance of Belief” through the Theater and Performance Studies program at the University of Maryland. Several pieces have been written on haunted tourism in the UK (Hanks 2015, Goldstein 2007, Fraser 2005, Holloway 2010, Holzhauser 2015), and there have also been numerous variants of traditional legend tripping suggested by scholars. In his 2011 publication, author Michael Kinsella explores legend tripping online and Mikel Koven's 2007 article

examines the intersection between ostension and ghost hunting television shows. One recent and U.S.-based example is that of “simulacrum-tripping” proposed by folklorist Jeannie Thomas.

In her recent publication, *Putting the Supernatural in its Place: Folklore, the Hypermodern, and the Ethereal* (2015), Thomas suggested a new term with regards to commercialized legend tripping in Salem, MA: the “simulacrum trip” (67). She explains that the simulacrum trip occurs when “participants visit artificial sites, manufactured objects, and other obvious constructions that have no true material connection to the story they tell” (67). In order to understand this application, it is important to understand the origins of the term “simulacrum.”

Thomas’ research is based on Jean Baudrillard’s seminal work “Simulacra and Simulations” (1981), in which he posits that simulations can become true or real, no longer standing in for a reality, but serving as a reality themselves. Baudrillard argues that contemporary society has replaced reality with symbols that occur on four levels: the faithful image, the perversion of reality, the absence of a profound reality, and a pure simulation (6). These symbols are often created by mass media, and consumers accept the simulacrum as “real.” An example from Thomas’s work is the Salem Witch Museum, which is “*the* place in Salem to visit,” even though the building is not associated—geographically or through material culture—with the historic witch trials. In her analysis, a tourist visiting the museum “is undertaking a simulacrum trip,” as opposed to a legend trip, which, in contrast, takes place at a location that is historically linked with the stories it shares (67). In the context of my work, I examine the ways in which these manufactured spaces may or may not come in to play in a Utah ghost tour, and how they might function in response to the constraints placed upon the tours.

There is further connection between the topic of haunted heritage tourism and the work of Jean Baudrillard: Baudrillard was influenced by Marxist ideology, which had—many years

earlier—been an inspiration for the Frankfurt School and the foundation of thought on cultural commodification. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer wrote that “[t]he whole world is made to pass through the filter of the culture industry,” and as a result, the imitation “becomes absolute” (“The Culture Industry” 1944 [1998]).

One example—and many variations—of this capitalist, commodified culture is present in heritage tourism. In his 2002 article, anthropologist Robert Shepard examines “tourism’s role in the commodification of culture” (183), providing an overview of many different opinions on the relationship between culture and tourism, and writing to fill the gap in scholarship that has failed to address the process of commodification when tourism commodifies culture (186). The author questions the idea of authenticity and defines “authentic” culture as being distinct from “market relationships with outsiders, particularly tourists” (190). While Shepard sets out to define something as “genuinely authentic,” several other scholars—such as folklorist Regina Bendix—question the entire concept of authenticity, specifically in the context of tourism (MacCannell 1973, Wang 1999, Chhabra et. Al. 2003, Cohen 1988). While scholars do not necessarily agree on whether authenticity can be achieved, it is still something that most tourists seek out, including in their experiences with haunted heritage tourism.

Another example of culture that has been commodified to meet tourists’ desire for authentic experiences is discussed in AC Bunten’s 2008 article, “Sharing culture or selling out? Developing the commodified persona in the heritage industry.” This article focuses on the creation of the “commodified persona” that functions as a product in the heritage culture industry. Bunten defines self-commodification as “a set of beliefs and practices in which an individual chooses to construct a marketable identity product while striving to avoid alienating him-or herself” (381). This study specifically looks at Native American tourism in Alaska and

the roles of the tour guides who facilitate the tourist experiences. The author acknowledges the creation of cultural representation based on the expectation of the outsider and argues that this standardization is a part of many cultural tourism sites (385). This sets expectations for tourists so that they have an idea of what to expect and how to enjoy it. Haunted heritage tourism is a prime example of commodified culture. Instead of the identity that is being commodified in Bunten's case study, Logan Ghost Tours—and more generally, many forms of haunted heritage tourism—are commodifying the legend trip, in addition to local history. This means that companies are imitating and reproducing this folk activity, as well as the material that comprises them. Just as folklorists discuss the importance of believability in the proper execution of the legend trip, this principle is pivotal to the success of haunted heritage endeavors. While haunted heritage tourism mimics the folk process and makes use of many of its features, commodification is separate from the folk process. Through my research, I have discovered that the desire to create marketable identities for a location in haunted heritage tourism leads to some clear changes from the folk legend tripping model.

While the existing research focused on the politics of commodification has been significant in shaping the discourse around heritage tourism, it is important to note that unlike the subjects of many cultural tourism studies, tourism in the case of my research is not necessarily a negative thing, nor does it signal the end of the legitimate folk process. Those consuming the commodified material are quite able—and perhaps likely—to de-commodify the content of the tours and interact with it on a folk level once again.

Case Study: Logan Ghost Tours

In Logan, Utah, locals and visitors alike can purchase tickets for a seasonal tour, which features murdered brides and creepy dolls as guides who lead groups around the historic downtown. They take their guests to visit a number of storytellers whose tales include funeral parlors and black cats, grisly murders in early taverns, and devastating fires that wiped out beloved landmarks. Since October of 2012, the twilight streets of downtown Logan, Utah, have been the setting for this seasonal event: Logan Ghost Tours. Featuring local legends and buildings, the Logan Downtown Alliance and its collaborators offer an excursion for visitors and locals alike. The event has evolved since its debut and has expanded to include local history, seasonal (and sometimes) spooky stories, and most recently, theatrical performances. Through the vehicle of local legend and ghost stories, the Downtown Alliance shines a spotlight on historic downtown Logan.

I conducted my fieldwork through participant observation, interviews, and informal correspondence with those involved in the tours. While my initial research involved another, year-round tour company based in Salt Lake City, the main focus of this thesis has been narrowed to focus on Logan Ghost Tours to allow a more in-depth consideration of this case study. Those in charge of the tour granted permission for the creation of digital audio recordings of the tours, and the company encourages all guests to bring cameras and capture images of the tours. Supplementary photographs were either taken by the author or located in publications that made use of archival images. Tour guides, actors, and storytellers were generally unidentified throughout the tours, and are therefore not identified in the descriptions and analysis.

History of Logan Ghost Tours

Logan Ghost Tours was founded in 2012 by Gary Saxton, the president of the Logan Downtown Alliance. The mission of the Downtown Alliance is to “build a vibrant downtown business district, provide outstanding arts, recreation, and entertainment opportunities, and preserve downtown's unique culture and heritage” (Logandowntown.org). A former resident of Boston, Massachusetts, Saxton was familiar with the diverse tourism associated with Salem and its infamous witch trials when he moved to Logan, Utah. Tasked with creating four events that would bring visitors to downtown Logan, Saxton drew on Salem for inspiration and created the seasonal event (Saxton 2016). Because the Downtown Alliance is small—comprised of only one employee—Saxton says that he would not be able to put together the event on his own. As a result, the collaborative effort includes, as of the 2016 tour season, the Alliance, the Bridgerland Story Telling Guild (BSG), the Cache Theater Company, and Music Theater West. Together, they provide what Saxton identifies as the three major components of the tours: the storytellers, the guides, and the locations.

The guides and storytellers are two distinct groups: the former is composed of individuals dressed in a wide variety of costume—from characters pulled out of generic horror movies to individuals in Victorian clothing—who are responsible for leading groups from place to place. The latter are stationary in their respective buildings and are not obviously costumed; rather, they wear a wide range of street clothing, from casual to somewhat formal attire. The tour runs Friday and Saturday nights in October from 7pm to 11pm. Both evenings offer three consecutive tours, each running ninety to 120 minutes long. Throughout the season, the tour can host 1176 guests and the tickets have sold out every year since 2012.⁴ The maximum distance traveled on foot by guests is one mile, though the 2016 season was significantly shorter (about .5 miles).

When asked about the planning process for the tour, Saxton shared the model that the Downtown Alliance developed and used to craft subsequent tours. First, the dates are solidified, and then the sites are confirmed. Saxton credited his role in the downtown community with providing opportunities for contact and discussion with the proprietors of potential stops on the tour. After locations have been selected, the information is given to the Bridgerland Storytelling Guild, generally by the beginning of May. The BSG conducts research and produces material to fit the locations—historic information and specific stories—which is returned to Saxton by June. Saxton has final approval of the material, which is then distributed to the storytellers, who are responsible for memorizing and performing the material. At the middle to the end of August, tickets become available, and in September the Downtown Alliance publishes a press release for the tour.

Characters/Cast, 2016

Those involved in the production and performance of the ghost tours extend far beyond Saxton, though his influence runs throughout the event. Guides, dressed in costume, function to check in guests, announce the performances, and lead guests from location to location, while dressed in spooky and/or period costumes [Image 1]—a new feature of the 2016 tour season. Storytellers are positioned in the selected buildings when guests are delivered by the guide and they (the storytellers) remain in the same location throughout the night. After the first theatrical performance of the 2016 season, guests were split into three groups led by three different guides. The three groups left the starting location at the same time and each group went to one of three main storytelling locations. After the stories were completed, the three groups exited their respective buildings and were led to one of the two buildings they had not yet visited. This was

repeated once more, before all three groups were led to the final theatrical performance, for which they were reunited. While all guests attending the tour began and ended together at selected locations, this concurrent choreography allowed for three smaller groups to hear the stories simultaneously, albeit in different orders than the other groups.⁵ The actors involved in the theatrical productions that bookend the tours seemed to be separate from the guides and storytellers, though the guides were present at the first and last stops, where the plays took place.

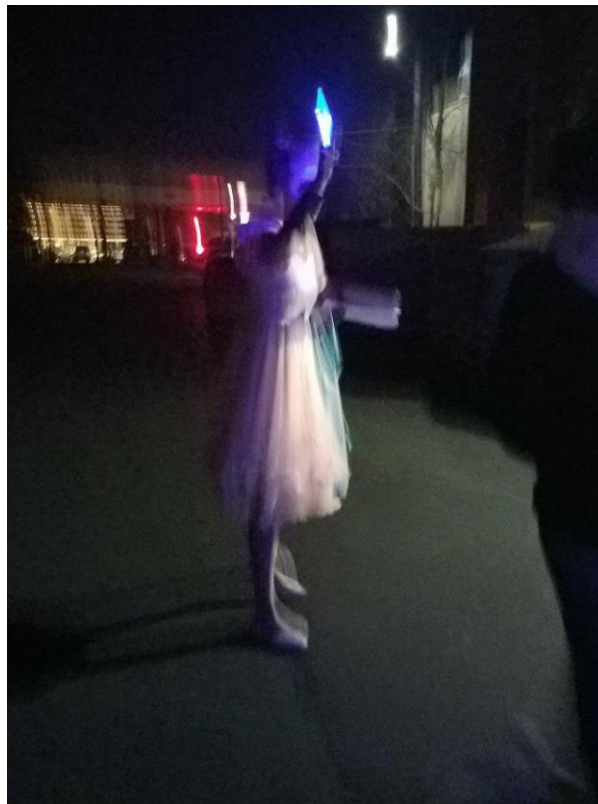


Image 1: A tour guide in a dress and skeleton face paint. Photo by K. Schroeder, 2017.

Buildings

The main locations for the 2016 ghost tour included the Wells Fargo Building located at the corner of Center Street and Main Street, the second floor of the J.R. Edward's building at 15 N Main Street above the Coppin's Hallmark store, and a building under construction, located at 31 N Main Street, which was in the process of being transformed into a restaurant called

“Stacked Pancakes.” The starting and ending locations, while not venues for the storytelling portions of the evenings, included St. John’s Episcopal Church and the Emporium Shopping Center and featured theatrical productions by the Cache Theater Company and Music Theater West.

Location #1: The Thatcher Opera House/Wells Fargo Building

While the Wells Fargo Building [Image 2] currently sits at the southwest corner of the intersection of Center and Main streets, over 100 years ago it was the site of the Thatcher Opera House [Image 3]. The Opera House, built in 1890, was “the culmination of an impressive effort by George Washington Thatcher to bring theater and culture to Cache Valley” (Hunter 2012). While it fulfilled this purpose for twenty-two years, a fire that started in an adjacent building consumed the Thatcher Opera House on April 17, 1912 [Image 4].



Image 2: Wells Fargo Building, 2017. Photo by K. Schroeder



Image 3: Historic Photo of Thatcher Opera House. USU Special Collections and Archives.



Image 4: Historic Photo of Thatcher Opera House on fire, 1912. USU Special Collections and Archives.

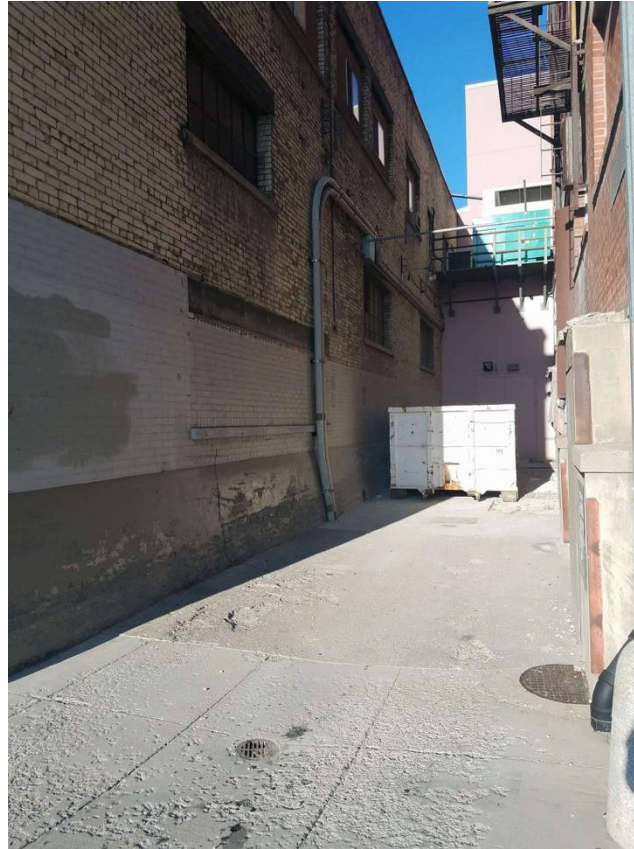


Image 5: Alley leading to back entrance of Wells Fargo Building. Photo by K. Schroeder

On the tour, guests were taken into the five-story Wells Fargo building down an alley and through a back entrance [Image 5]. They were led up narrow stairs—though an elevator is available for accessibility⁶—to the roof of the building. The path up the stairs and through the dark building was lined with battery-powered tea lights and guests used their souvenir glow wands to illuminate the way. On the roof of the building, approximately twenty chairs were arranged in two rows facing the west side of the roof, where a storyteller stood to speak to the guests. After the storyteller has finished, guests were given a few short minutes to walk around the roof and gaze upon the lights of downtown Logan. On tours earlier in the season, storytellers passed around laminated historic images of the theater in its prime and photocopied images of

the newspaper headline on the day after the fire: “Worst Fire in Cache Valley History.⁷” On tours later in the season, these images were taped to the wall just inside the door leading to the roof.

The storytellers positioned on the roof of the Wells Fargo Building shared versions of the following monologue⁸:

Do you ever walked into someplace for the first time and immediately felt home, comfortable? Most people have. Well tonight I get to tell you about a place like that, but it's not just any place. It's not just four walls. I get to tell you about a theater. Right here in 1890, sitting here on the corner of Center [Street] and Main [Street]. They had a big ceremony and they christened this theater the Thatcher Opera House. There was gleaming brass trim on the inside. All of her box seats were guided and covered with ornate plaster work. Her seat cushions were covered in horse hair...There was nothing but the finest that was put into the Thatcher Opera House. The very first time that a hand flipped a switch and the steam whistled through her pipes, the very first time her sconces lit and they crackled with electricity...that's when her soul began to stir to life. When an actor stepped into the light to deliver his line and a diva sang a beautiful aria, she breathed in all of those sighs and the screams and the laughter. She remembered every performer that graced her stage. When an audience rose as one in thundering applause, she felt her purpose; her reason for being. On dark days when there were no shows in the theater she slept and she dreamed. And maybe she dreamed in scenes or phrases, maybe in quotes or soliloquies. She was everything to the valley. She brought them culture and entertainment. Her stage held pompous maestros and juggling clowns, performing poodles, and even the HMS Pinafore. It was wonderful for a time. But as things do, they go in and out of fashion, and live theater went out of fashion. Those new talking pictures...those talking pictures were the thing everyone wanted to go to.... And so she sat quiet for a little while. In 1912, just before they were about to fit her out to be a movie house, she died. Beautiful red velvet curtains rippled with heat and smoke [as] they curled and they fell engulfed in flame. All because next door in the Golden Rule⁹ the careless [unintelligible] struck a match in the basement and it sparked,

igniting a bin of cotton. [It] caught quickly. The whole basement was on fire and it was just minutes before the heat began to burn the opera house's walls. Her stage manager—his name was Deloy Jessop—he was up in his office. He'd been her stage manager for 22 years. That's a really long time to be a stage manager. They're in charge of everything. A stage manager doesn't just do what you see on stage, a stage manager does everything you don't see. They are almost the magic of the theater. Well there he was, and there he had been for every day because Deloy didn't take days off. He never married, he never had children; he found in the opera house his home. He found his acceptance. He found his place to belong. He devoted his entire life to her. Next door, though they raised the alarm and they called the fire department and in they rushed with their buckets and their hoses and they pumped water on the fire...it was too great. It would not be extinguished. Deloy finally smelled the smoke and he came out of his office, when he saw the flames begin to push through and he grabbed a bucket and filled it with water and ran about the room to room to room, putting out fire after fire after fire because he believed he could save his home. He believed he could save her.

[The storyteller inserts a personal story about walking into her own burning home and describes the cloud of thick, heavy smoke she encountered.]

[Deloy] found himself blinded and down on the floor in the isle gasping. What part that he could see of his home as it burned was those beautiful curtains fall and the stage begin to catch. He watched as the fire raced up the ropes and got into the rigging. And all of the posters that he had hung proudly on the walls, they began to curl and blacken. Finally, [they] turned into ash. He heard her screaming out. They came out in the wrenching shrieks of twisting metal and the cracks of the beams as they charred and finally began to give way. One of them knocked [Deloy] unconscious. She had sat here grandly for 22 years. She had become famous. She had been loved and that is all any of us really want. She would not, however, be responsible for taking Deloy's life. Somehow the doors to the street that were locked were pushed open and the smoke poured out onto the street. Those people that were fighting the fire next door saw and they came running in

with buckets and hoses only to find her in absolute inferno, completely beyond saving. They called out for anyone inside to rescue and it was just a minute before they saw him there, slumped over and half buried under rubble. They ran forward and dug him out and as they began to pull him backwards her walls shuddered. And she [held on] just as tightly as she could, waiting for him to be safe. As soon as they left him out on the sidewalk stones fell. By the time morning arrived the fire had finally burnt itself out and all that remained of the magnificent opera house was a blackened, smoky husk. Deloy had remained. He held vigil by her side he stayed for 6 months as they cleared away her rubble, going every day. Finally, his heart just gave up [and] ... he died...Sometimes Deloy has been seen pacing the stage making sure that everything is just so because once you're a stage manager, you're always a stage manager. It's only in a theater, though, that the anticipation practically hums in the air. Those inside can sense the anticipation. You almost hold your breath as there's a pause before the curtain pulls back and the spotlight shines down and the show begins. Can a building be alive? She breathed, she dreamed, she slept, she loved. She was loved. I think that that makes her alive.

As you go down this first set [of stairs] and turn there are pictures on the wall of the opera house as she was in all her glory, as she's burning down, and there are even pictures of newspaper articles, the headliner is the thatcher opera house burning down and underneath, you'll find a little tiny article about the Titanic sinking. it's pretty funny, but she was a very important part of Logan's culture.

Location #2: J.R. Edwards Saloon

The J.R. Edwards building, located at 15 N Main Street in downtown Logan was built in 1895 [Image 6]. John R. Edwards arrived in Logan in 1859, one of the city's first settlers. The building still bears Edwards' name on the stone façade, and it was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2007 [Image 7]. Even though it was across the street from the LDS Tabernacle (built in 1864), it was used as a saloon and billiards hall.¹⁰ While the building has

been vacant since the 1970s, Saxton's connection to downtown properties has allowed the ghost tour to use the building for multiple years of the tour's operation.



Image 6: Historic Photo of J.R. Edwards Building. USU Special Collections and Archives.



Image 7: J.R. Edwards Building (15 N Main), 2017. Photo by K. Schroeder

After being led up to the second floor of the building via a narrow staircase, guests were ushered into a dark back room where chairs were arranged along two of the walls, forming an L shape. A storyteller sat on a stool and used the space to walk about and talk to the visitors¹¹:

Life is change. Here in beautiful historic downtown Logan we are not exempt from this. Change happens around us all the time. Take for example, Main Street. It looks very different today than say 200 years ago. But even though change is constant, some things never change. Death, for example. Death is permanent. or is it? Here at the Logan Ghost Tour, we of the Bridgerland Storytelling Guild work diligently to do as much research as we can so that we can bring you stories that are based on facts. Real things that actually happened to real people right here in Logan. For example, the building we're all in right used to be site of Logan's very first saloon. Don't worry, none of you are going to purgatory just for sitting here. [audience laughs] Everything from the windows [where] you can see out at the street all the way through to this line right here [indicates floor] used to be the saloon and it was owned by a man named J.R. Edwards. In fact, some of you may have noticed Mr. Edwards' name is still on the front of the building. Right above Hallmark it says J.R. Edwards. Now, by all accounts that we can find, J.R. was an extremely caring, loving, kind, generous man. He was an excellent member of the community and he really truly just wanted to help people. He was, however, of the opinion that if alcohol helped people have a good time or even just helped them forget their problems for a while, then he was going to serve it to them. And one of his most faithful customers was an officer named Ed McNearny. Now Ed had a huge beautiful German Shepherd and he took that dog everywhere. He took it on official police business of course, but he also took it to run errands and he always had it here in the saloon. Ed and that dog loved each other. They were like best friends. If any of you have had a pet that you've really bonded with you can probably understand what that's like. But still, Ed never really felt like the dog was a good companion to tell his problems to. And Ed felt like he was having a

lot of problems. It had all started years before when Ed had received a notice to go and see his bishop.¹² And upon arriving, he was instructed that he needed to take a second wife. The bishop even had a strong suggestion as to who this wife should be. Ed left that meeting feeling shaken and defiant. He didn't even want the wife he had! [laughter] According to family journals, he had felt pressured into his first marriage and there was no way he was going to be pressured into a second one. According to his very own journal he wrote, "One wife is enough work for any one man" and that was that. So not wanting to look his bishop in the eye, he became inactive. Eventually, all together. Ed found himself about a decade later, here. A frequent customer of J.R.'s saloon where he told J.R. his stories of sorrow and woe. In fact, he had told J.R. this story before, and he told him again. And again. And again and again and again until eventually one night J.R. announced to the entire saloon that he'd heard enough of Ed's bellyaching and he wasn't going to hear another word on the matter. So, Ed moved to the barkeep who, like a good bartender, lent him a shoulder and an ear night after night...after night after night after night till eventually even the bartender had to inform [Ed] that he simply could not hear the same sad stories any more. Ed either needed to keep it to himself or find someone else to tell. So he continued to frequent the saloon but he did so feeling lonely and unheard. Until one night J.R. brought in a big beautiful crystal glass bowl filled to the brim with water and sat it on the bar. And in this bowl was a living goldfish. Now I don't know if perhaps Officer McNearny had had one too many to drink that night, but he got to talking to that goldfish. And funnier still, the goldfish swam over and seemed to be listening. The next night Ed, knowing he had been drunk, told himself, "You know, maybe I imagined it or perhaps it was just a fluke. Or maybe the goldfish prefers that side of the bowl." So he sat around the other side and he waited a while before he started talking. But I'll be darned if as soon as he opened his mouth to talk that goldfish didn't swim straight over, edge of the glass, top of that water, looking up with his big bulgy goldfish eyes, just seeming to hang on Ed's every word. So Ed told him a story. He told him all about his disagreement with his bishop and about his fights with his wife and about how now instead of 2 wives or even one, he had

none. You see, according to records, about six months after the meeting with his bishop, his wife left him and went to live with her sister in San Bernardino, California. So here was Ed, all alone [and] talking to a goldfish. But the goldfish really seemed to listen. Even though Ed told him the same story again and again and again and again the goldfish never got tired of hearing Ed's stories. Finally, here was a friend for Ed who would never get sick of the same sad stories. Who always just wanted to hear the sound of his voice. Ed didn't care that it was a goldfish. He was happy. To be heard, this was all that he wanted. For the first time in a really long time he felt happy. Until one night, disaster befell officer McNearny. Or to be more accurate, disaster befell the goldfish. You see in the wee hours of the morning a burglar broke in and, using a crowbar, pried open the cash register and took all the money—even the coins. And then before leaving, possibly by accident, but more likely out of malice, he used the crow bar to break the goldfish bowl. Glass everywhere. Water everywhere and the goldfish slid across the saloon floor. Flipping and flopping. Just desperately trying to breathe. [gasping noises] Until of course he died. The next day Ed happened to be with J.R. when he came to open the saloon and he noticed immediately that the goldfish bowl was not in its proper place. He ran across the room to see first hundreds of shards of glass and then the evaporating water and finally, the cold stiff dead body of the goldfish. He bent down and picked it up gingerly. And even though he was an officer of the law and a full-grown man, he began to weep. [Ed] composed himself quickly and he looked right at J.R. and he said "J.R., I swear to you I will find the vile criminal who did this crime and I will prosecute him to the FULL EXTENT OF THE LAW. Now, it's not that J.R. wasn't grateful, but he did write in his journal that even he could see that his friend, Officer Ed McNearny's vows of justice were far more about vengeance and revenge for the death of a goldfish than getting him any of his money back. Ed, who had did every scrap of evidence he could find [sic]. Every CSI tool he had available to him. But it was the late 1800s and they didn't even know how to do finger prints back then. They did, however, find an irregular, but very clear pair of muddy boot prints on the ground. And he [Ed] was livid. He was certain that this singular clue could lead

him to finding the criminal who had robbed the saloon and also murdered the goldfish. So he began to request the night shift, and night after night he and his faithful dog would walk up and down the streets of Logan on patrol. Prowling, searching for this clue that he felt certain would lead to his culprit. This went on for a very long time until one night all that work paid off. You see, just as he came around the corner of center and main Ed saw somebody breaking into the saloon. "I've got you now," he thought and he ran over quickly and quietly, coming in the door, up the stairs and through that door and sure enough there standing behind the cash register was, presumably, the same burglar. In one hand he had a fist full of coins and in the other he had the crowbar that had moments before, violated the cash register and months before broken the goldfish bowl, murdering [the goldfish]. So Ed let go of his dog and that dog ran, barking and snarling, and leaped at criminal. But the man, out of self-preservation, swung his crowbar once as hard as he could. And luck was on his side...and his aim was true. And there was the sickening crack of metal on skull and the dog fell dead to the ground. The officer pulled out his pistol and pointed it right at the burglar. "In the name of the law, I command that you stop!" But the criminal was quick and clever. He threw that entire fistful of coins right in the officer's face. Now it only startled him for a moment but it was just long enough for the burglar to bridge the gap between them and he was [snap] on top of him. And then the struggle took [place]. They knocked into tables and chairs and into the bar, both trying desperately to get control of the gun until eventually they ended up on the floor, rolling this way and that until finally, culprit was on top of cop. And then slowly, ever so slowly just a hair's width at a time Ed began to realize that the barrel of that gun was turning right towards his face. He made one last final effort to get away. But it was no use. And then a new struggle began. You see, Ed's finger was still on the trigger. And he tried with all of his will and every muscle he could muster not to let it squeeze. But the villain's finger had found his and with everything he had, he squeezed with all his might. However, a few minutes later...BANG. And Officer Ed McNearney lay dead on this very floor. Right about where you guys are [indicating location of several tour guests]. Now ever since

then there have been numerous accounts of people who have lived and worked in this building [saying] that they could sometimes hear the heavy irritated labored breathing of officer McNearny. And even more often than that, the clicking of the dog's toenails as he went, even when this building was completely carpeted. I think the two of them are still out there, looking for the vile criminal who killed Ed's only real friend, a goldfish.

Location #3: Mortuary/Stacked Pancakes

While the building at 31 N Main St. is portrayed as a funeral home and mortuary in Logan Ghost Tour's 2016 tour season, it was originally built by N.A. Lindquist as furniture store that also sold undertaker goods. According to a business directory in Ray Somer's *History of Logan*, the building was selling everything from highchairs to coffins in 1874, and a photo from Utah State's Special Collections and Archives shows the store on Main St. c. 1984 [Image 8]. By 1913, an individual with the same surname, George W. Lindquist, was operating an embalming service and funeral parlor a few blocks away at 55 E 100 N [Image 9]. While LGT's narrative takes place in the 1920s, Logan's Polk business directory lists that by 1925 the building was operating as a sweet shop called "Cherry Blossom" and a woman's furnishings shop. While there is no record of the building located at 31 N Main St. ever operating as a mortuary, the connection to the Lindquist name and the sale of undertaker's goods seems to have been enough to forge the connection that appears in the following narrative.



Image 8: Historic Photo of N.A. Lindquist's shop at 31 N. Main. USU Special Collections and Archives.



Image 9: Stacked Pancakes (31 N. Main), 2017. Photo by K. Schroeder

The tour group was brought into a dark and dusty building that was in the midst of being remodeled [Image 9]. The smell of lumber and paint filled the air in the space that was occupied by rows of folding chairs, along with miscellaneous construction tools. After taking seats in what is now one of the building's main dining areas, a storyteller began¹³:

So let me tell you the true story about this building. Back in the 1920s this was a funeral parlor. The undertaker at the time was a woman called Paula Gundy—an unusual occupation for a woman, especially back then. But it was right here that Paula would sell caskets to the friends and relatives of the deceased. It was down those stairs that she would have them take the bodies so she could wash them and exchange their blood for embalming fluid. It was right here that Paula would care for the dead, dressing them for their funerals. Paula was a kind woman. Kind of a small woman, and she loved the dead as much as she loved the living. Well, one evening a storm started to come through the valley and Paula received a new body. And as Paula had them take it downstairs, she realized she knew this person. It was an old woman that most people called Grandma Nessie. And everybody that knew Grandma Nessie just loved her, so Paula knew she needed to take extra special care of the body. And as she began her work washing the body she heard the storm start up. After a while she started to hear a scratching noise. She figured it was just an animal that was trying to get in from the weather so she didn't think about it much. But it persisted. And it wasn't just a regular scratching noise, it was a long slow scratch. Kind of unnerving. Paula was downstairs and the ceiling down there is very low. And she only had one small lightbulb that illuminated her workspace but not much else. As she stood down there hearing the slow scratching she was trying to figure out what it sounded like and all she could think was it sounded almost like fingernails of the inside of a coffin. So she stopped herself at that thought as she was a very sensible woman. She was just going to come upstairs and figure out what it was. So she got upstairs and she got up here she started realizing that the sound was coming from the front windows.

So she went over to the windows and she saw a large black cat peering in at her. It had one white paw and a little white at the tip of its tail. And it was slowly dragging its claws down the windows, making the noise. Paula figured she'd open the door and see if maybe the cat wanted to come inside and stay dry. So she unlocked the door and opened it up and the cat came walking in. And then it ran down the stairs and jumped on top of the body of Grandma Nessie and started sniffing her curiously before it finally stopped, looked at Paula, and meowed at her. So Paula said, "I'm sorry little one but she's gone. Were the two of you friends then?" Well of course the cat didn't say anything, it was a cat. But it just glared at her as if it was her fault. Paula said "Look, if you really were friends you would know she's been sick for a long time and she's very old. It was her time to go. Nobody comes to see me before it's her time. The cat twitched its tail, stalked to the end of the table, and sat right next to Grandma Nessie's head, and glared at Paula. Paula still needed to embalm the body so she figured as long as the cat wasn't going to do anything [it] could just stay there. So she just continued her work, but the entire time she was working that cat was just staring at her watching her every move. Almost as if inspecting to make sure that she did everything just right for Grandma Nessie. Well, Paula finished the embalming and what she usually did next was dress the body. So she started with combing out Grandma Nessie's hair. And as she did she started to sing an old folk song [singing]: *"Black is the color of my true love's hair/ her lips are like some roses fair/ she's the sweetest face and the gentlest hands/ I love the ground where on she stands/ I love my love, as well she knows/ I love the ground where ere she goes/ I wish for the day that the day would come/ and she and I will be as one."* And then the cat flattened her ears and hissed at her. "What? That is a perfectly fine tune." She said, "You would probably just like it better if it was about you." So she thought for a moment and she started again. [Singing] *"Black is the color of my dear cat's fur/ her whiskers are like the finest myrrh/ she's the sweetest face and the gentlest paws/ I love the ground where ere they fall."* And the cat pricked its ears forward so she kept going. *"I love my cat, as well she knows/ from her silky fur to her little toes/ at the end of the day I come home to her/ safe in my arms she softly purrs."*

Black is the color of my dear cat's fur/ her whiskers are like the finest myrrh/ she's the sweetest face and the gentlest paws/ I love the ground where ere they fall." Paula realized the ribbon she needed to finish Grandma Nessie's hair was across the room. The cat looked at Paula and it looked at the ribbon. Then it jumped down and fetched the ribbon back to her. Paula was amazed. "Thank you little one!" She couldn't believe the cat fetched the ribbon like a dog fetches a stick. But she wasn't going to tell the cat that. The rest of the time she was working on Grandma Nessie's body, that cat helped her. When she dropped a silk scarf and it fell under the table the cat fetched it out and brought it to her. When she needed a few more hair pins to finish the hairstyle the cat brought them to her. Almost intuitively, as if it knew exactly what Paula needed. And when she needed the last finishing touch of a lace collar for Grandma Nessie, the cat gently brought it to her. Without ever touching the body, but always right there helping Paula do the work. The next day was Grandma Nessie's funeral. And Paula didn't go to the funerals because she was the undertaker. But she made an exception for Grandma Nessie and she took the cat. And as the two of them sat through the service, they stayed until they closed the lid on the casket and then they went up to the cemetery and they watched as the casket was lowered down to the ground. Then Paula went to leave but she realized that the cat was still sitting there. So she decided to wait and see what the cat was going to do. And that cat sat there until the very last shovel full of dirt was placed on the grave. Only then did it show any intention of leaving. It just sat there and watched the workers, almost as if inspecting them to make sure they did everything right for Grandma Nessie. Paula brought the cat back here to the funeral parlor. She figured now she had a cat to keep her company on all those long nights. And that cat stayed and helped her with her work. Whenever she needed a piece of ribbon or a bow-tie the cat would fetch it for her without ever being asked. It kept her company as she sang songs and brushed out hair and trimmed mustaches. That cat stayed and kept Paula company on those long nights she worked with the dead, preparing them for their funerals. But every single night that cat would come back up here to the front windows and scratch its claws down the window frame, always sounding to Paula

like fingernails on the inside of a coffin. Well years went by and Paula wasn't getting any younger and one day it was finally her turn. She had just finished straightening the tie on a gentleman for his funeral the next day. And she wearily sat down in her chair in the corner downstairs. And Paula died. But the cat stayed, and kept her company. When people came the next morning and they found Paula, the cat was curled up on her lap just waiting for them. And as that cat had helped Paula dress the dead for their funerals, so it helped the new undertaker dress Paula's body [by] bringing them ribbons [and] helping them find all the things Paula needed and used. And when it came time for Paula's funeral the cat escaped and they couldn't find it. Until [someone] mentioned that they had seen a black cat up at the cemetery sitting by Paula's grave, waiting until the very last shovel full of earth had been placed there. And then that cat made its way back down here to this funeral home, went down those stairs, and sat in the chair that Paula had sat in so many times before. And the cat too died. Well since then, whenever people have been here at night sometimes on kind of a rainy night, like when Paula first found the cat, they'll start to hear strange and unsettling scratching noise[s]. And some of us think it sounds like fingernails on the inside of a coffin. And for those few brave should who try to find out where the sound is coming from, it always leads them to the front windows. And a few people have looked out and in the darkness they have seen a large black cat, peering in at them with one white paw and a little white at the tip of its tail. It's the undertaker's cat of course. Funny but, no one has ever known the name of the cat. The end.

Analysis

There are several common themes found throughout the three stories and their associated buildings that are worth identifying. The spaces are clearly marked as separate from the rest of downtown Logan, both spatially and through human presence (or lack thereof). Each stop is situated inside of a building whose door was shut when the last guest was inside. Only the guests, guides, and storytellers were allowed into the spaces, which were not accessible to the

general public at the time of the tour. Folding chairs (an indicator of the impermanence of the tour) clearly distinguished the audience from the teller, and indicated where guests were supposed to direct their attention. In addition, all three stories took place in the historic past. It is not uncommon for legend trip material to be third or fourth hand (sometimes referred to as a “friend of a friend” narrative); however, the material that made up the location-based stories was researched and patched together from historic sources that in some cases were identified by the storytellers. The stories themselves revolved around needs and desires being met—whether through the love of the community, the attentions of a goldfish, or the companionship of a cat—and then being taken away through destruction or death.

These three examples from Logan Ghost Tours also offer some comparisons to folk legend tripping that, while not the direct focus of my analysis, are nevertheless worth identifying. Similar to the folk legend trip, guests were brought into a specific space and given a story that was connected to their physical surroundings. Each story contained some sort of tragedy, and ended with an account of paranormal occurrences that had been reported in the space, presumably because of what had taken place there. These stories provide impetus for being present in the location and suggest not only the type of supernatural activity visitors might expect, but more specifically *why* they should expect it. Additionally, each story featured a named character in place of a generic figure.

However, instead of the featured demographic presenting as adolescents, there was a mix of teenagers, young adults, and older individuals. Children and pre-teens were the minority, if present at all. According to Mike Huberty, creator of Madison Ghost Walks, the main demographic for his tour in 2013 was women, aged forty to fifty (Schroeder 2014). Due to the cost of attending, one can assert that while the tours are affordable, participants must have the

ability to pay for the tour, which is not a feature that is required by the folk legend trip. The tours have sold out each year, which also indicates that there is a certain amount of premeditation from those attending.

While these similarities and differences are undoubtedly important to note, this analysis is focused on other comparative aspects between the folk legend trip and the commodified version presented by Logan Ghost Tours, and on the constraints that must be dealt with in specific ways by those in charge of creating and facilitating the tours. The following section of analysis will identify the major constraints found in my examination of Logan Ghost Tours, and the discussion will subsequently deal with the ways in which the tour company reacted to the aforementioned constraints, which shaped the tour content and format.

Constraints

The nature of the folk legend trip that has been identified and studied by folklore scholars like Bill Ellis, Kenneth Thigpen, Diane Goldstein, Libby Tucker, and many others must be reexamined within the context of commodification. I have identified three major constraints that commodification imposes on the legend trip: access, time, and distance. While I use Logan Ghost Tours as a case study from which to provide examples, I assert that most forms of haunted heritage tourism will face these constraints in some form. The same constraints may be present in the folk legend trip, although as examples will make clear, the ways in which folk legend trippers deal with these constraints is vastly different than the methods utilized by tour companies. In this context, the term constraint is used to refer to a limitation or restriction that is caused by the actions and locations that make up the legend trip and ghost walk.

Access

The first constraint faced by Logan Ghost Tours is that of accessibility. While the term often refers to “the ways in which physical, psychological and social environments are designed to ensure that everyone can interact with others on an equal basis despite their individual characteristics,” (University of Oulu) I am using the concept of accessibility to refer to legal, physical access to desirable spaces for haunted heritage tourism.¹⁴ One of the most important elements of the legend trip that has been transferred to the ghost tour is the need to go visit a place in order to tell the story and interact with it. In contrast to a regular storytelling session, one of the focal points of both legend tripping and the ghost tour is the physical movement into a space. There are different levels of access to desirable spaces for both folk legend trippers and tour companies: whether a space is always off-limits, such as private property, or is not accessible during certain hours, such as cemeteries and city parks that close at dusk or retail locations that are locked at the end of the day. Again, it is important to note that while this constraint is present in both the folk and commodified version of this activity, it, and the others I discuss, are dealt with in very different ways. Traditionally this constraint of access is not an issue for folk legend tripping because trespassing is often part of the experience. Ellis states that the legend trip “serves mainly as an excuse to escape adult supervision, [and] commit antisocial acts [...] Both legend and trip are ways of saying ‘screw you’ to adult law and order” (2004: 124). Ellis describes traditional legend trip locations as easily recognizable by vandalism and other markers that indicate a “party spot.” This can be seen in the common Logan-area legend trip location St. Ann’s Retreat, also known as “The Nunnery.” Due to its popularity as a legend trip destination, the owners of the property have installed security cameras and often post images online of those guilty of trespassing [Image 10 and Image 11]. While access to the location is not allowed, folk legend trippers accept the risk of illegal access as part of the trip itself. However,

when a program is being run by the Downtown Alliance and takes place publicly with large groups of people, illegal activity is not feasible. Patrons are paying for the experience, but also for the legitimacy of their presence in a space that is considered out of bounds (at least at the time) for those not participating in the tour.



Images 10 & 11: Security footage from St. Ann's Retreat Facebook page

Not only must the tour company obtain permissions to enter a space, but they must also find accessible spaces that fit with the goals of the tour. As mentioned in the earlier section on the history of the Logan Ghost Tours, securing access to locations is the first step in the planning process for the event after dates for the tours have been set. Only after the spaces have been confirmed are the locations sent to the Bridgerland Storytelling Guild for legend research. However, there have been cases of desirable buildings being used in the tour even when access is not granted. One example of this is the Lyric Theater in Logan, which Saxton says has "great stories" but the company has never been allowed inside¹⁵. Logan Ghost Tours has dealt with this constraint, or limitation, of access in two ways: the tour company has both stood outside of the desired building and talked about the space while not actually inside of it, and they have used

other locations to talk about specific desired stories. This will be expanded upon in the discussion section.

Time

The second constraint faced by Logan Ghost Tours is that of time. According to Saxton, tours over the past five seasons have lasted between ninety and 120 minutes. Unlike a folk legend trip, the company uses a tour model that can be replicated throughout the month of October, up to thirty-six times. This is a result of the need to commodify an experience that can be offered multiple times. Not only does this call for consistency across a season, but because three tours are scheduled each evening, each tour must finish by the time the next starts so that the spaces are available for use. By comparison, the folk legend trip does not follow a particular schedule, outside of the tripartite form discussed by Thigpen and Ellis. In her discussion of legend tripping to the Black Angel, S. E. Bird describes the events leading up to the trip: “The group has often been drinking, driving around, watching a horror movie, or generally partying, and is looking for something to do to relieve boredom or heighten existing excitement.” (1994: 199). Similarly, popular Cache Valley legend trip spots are featured destinations instead of one stop in a number of timed visits. Ellis agrees that most legend trips are “spontaneous” and Gary Hall calls them “informal.” Based on this, one can assert that the carefully planned structure found in Logan Ghost Tours is not an important aspect of the folk legend trip.

This constraint impacts the number of stops that can be included in each tour and also the length of each stop. For the 2016 season, the main section of the tour included three stops. A group’s time at each stop lasted roughly fifteen minutes. Saxton states that the stories found by the Bridgerland Storytelling Guild must be condensed in order to fit into the allotted time frame. This is also not a concern for folk legend trippers, where multiple versions of a story will likely

be shared by those participating without worrying about running out of time (see Hall in Dégh 2001: 166). It is important to note that while they were not the main stops of the tour, the first and last stops—which featured the theater companies—lasted roughly twenty minutes. Travel time must also be accounted for when considering the planning for the evening. The 2016 tour groups spent minimal time traveling, and the guides did not speak to the participants extensively as they led the groups from stop to stop; all of the stories and information were given by the storytellers. The length of each story also impacted the guests' ability to interact with the space. I attended tours where guests were given time to explore the roof of the Wells Fargo Building, the basement of the restaurant, and the front rooms of the J.R. Edwards Building, and I also attended tours where guests were rushed out of the space to keep on schedule and get the next group into the building. This lack of consistency within a building was dependent on a storyteller's ability to regulate the timing of his or her story; however, consistency inside of the selected locations was sacrificed for consistency in the timing of the larger tour. Just as the inclusion of multiple locations on the ghost tour impacts the constraint of time, it also impacts the constraint of distance.

Distance

Generally, a folk legend trip is limited to a single location where stories and legends are shared and ritual actions are taken to interact with the material. However, one of the defining elements of a ghost tour is the inclusion of multiple locations that the guests travel between during the event. Even with this important element, there is still a constraint placed upon the distance that a tour company can feasibly ask their guests to travel. In her analysis of this genre of hunted heritage tourism, Diane Goldstein explains that tours "typically...cover very little spatial ground" (2007: 187). This constraint is not only influenced by the limited time frame in

which the tour must operate, but it also reflects how far people can and/or are willing to travel. Because Logan Ghost Tours does not have age restrictions or a means of travel other than walking, the company had to consider a suitable distance for the diverse visitors they might encounter.

Some tour companies have gotten around some of the restrictions caused by distance by using vehicular transportation, such as Grimm Ghost Tours in Salt Lake City, UT, which travels via tour bus and allows for minimal walking and maximum distance covered. Logan Ghost Tours operates only as a walking tour, however, and its distance-related constraints reflect that. Saxton states that the most participants on the tour will be required to walk is one mile. In 2015, participants walked “close to the full mile,” while the tour stops on the 2016 season were all located within approximately one to two city blocks of each other. This is an important consideration because the landscapes to which local legends traditionally attach themselves are not necessarily located in such a way that makes it convenient to travel from one spot to another. The two popular legend tripping sites that have been mentioned—the Weeping Woman and St. Ann's Retreat—are not located in downtown Logan; in fact, they are not located in heavily populated areas of the city and would require a fair amount of travel to be included in a tour. Thus, two of the most popular local legends of the area are not featured in the city's official ghost tour. These connections between legend and location are forged by the selection of Logan Ghost Tours and the selection of buildings—and therefore story content—and implicitly affected by the tour company's ability to travel between locations in an accessible and timely manner.

Because these three constraints are addressed differently in the folk legend trip, but are integral in the construction of a commodified tour, it is undoubtedly important to examine the ways in which Logan Ghost Tours reacts to these constraints and how those reactions shape the

form and content of the tour. It is also important to consider why the Downtown Alliance is making use of an altered form of folk ritual as an annual event for Logan.

Discussion

I have identified three major constraints faced by both legend trips and ghost tours, and have noted the ways in which folk participants deal with issues of access, time, and distance. However, these folk responses are not feasible for the commodified variant of the legend trip. I will demonstrate the ways in which Logan Ghost Tours deals with the aforementioned constraints with purposeful ambiguity, with the application of what I have named the “transitive property of legendry,” and with the use of simulacra, in an expansion of the ways in which the term is used in Jeannie Thomas’s discussion of the “simulacrum trip.”

Logan Ghost Tours must construct a tour that fits within the parameters of the three constraints: it must be accessible, and set within the available travel time and distance. As discussed previously, LGT first establishes locations that fit within these constraints. Then, they must justify why those locations are included. For the folk legend trip, this justification is generally provided by the legend itself, which tends to include ambiguous details. The legends themselves are not required to be historically accurate or specific. In addition, the place that is visited is usually the “correct” spot for the ostensive action that accompanies the telling of the legend. Scholars agree that ambiguity is necessary for legend tripping because as a genre, legend thrives on questions that cannot be answered by “ordinary means” (Bird 1994:193). Folk legend trippers generally accept this ambiguity as part of the legend trip experience. The focus is on the trip and the actions, and the story functions to provide motive to take action.

Logan Ghost Tours also uses ambiguity to tell stories in buildings that are not necessarily connected to the legends, or to justify stories that are not part of the common discourse of

Downtown Logan. In this way, the presence of ambiguity is important to both the folk and commodified legend trip. However, the participants' response to this ambiguity is one of the key features that impacts the form and function of the commodified ghost walk. In a tour company that advertises "downtown's most famous ghosts, poltergeists, and spirits doomed to the realm of mortals," one can assert that there is an expectation that the tour company will provide explanation for some of the ambiguity that is generally accepted in the folk variant ("Historic Downtown Logan Ghost Tour"). The tour company also needs to justify why the "famous" locations featured on the tour are not the recognized sites of popular legend tripping, such as the Weeping Woman or "the Nunnery."

The way that the tour company justifies their presence is through the story or legend that is told at each stop. Even if there isn't a well-known legend attached to the place—as there is with the locations of the Weeping Woman and "the Nunnery"—the company must provide an explanation for including it on the tour. This need to explain LGT's presence is what leads to the in-depth research done by the Bridgerland Storytelling Guild in preparation for the season. In some cases, story content is left up to the interpretation of the tour participant so that they can draw their own conclusions and justify their presence in a location. For example, Saxton emphasized the historical accuracy of a story in which a young child fell through a second story window to her death onto Main Street, but the building with which the story is associated has not been accessible to the tour company. Saxton says the storytellers will use ambiguous phrasings such as "in a room like this" in order to let guests make the assumption that the location of the story and the location of the tour group are the same. Those paying for tickets expect stories of Downtown Logan and the spaces they are occupying during the tour. The use of this ambiguity can be characterized as an application of what I have termed the transitive property of legendry.

The transitive property of legendry is a concept that I developed in my work with ghost walks and haunted history tours in Madison, Wisconsin during the 2013 Halloween season. One of the featured stops was the Manona Terrace, a convention center designed by architect Frank Lloyd Wright. As a Wisconsin native and a graduate of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Wright is seen as an important local figure. However, the story told to tour participants while standing outside of the Manona Terrace did not feature the physical location at all (as is the case in the folk legend trips). Instead, the guide shared a bit of Wright's personal history and concluded with the story of the brutal murder of his mistress Martha "Mamah" Borthwick Cheney and six others at their home, Taliesin, located in Spring Green, Wisconsin, about forty miles away from Madison. The tour company actively used a building designed by Wright to talk about a tragic event that occurred in another physical location that is also connected to Wright.

The "transitive property of equality," in which if $[a=b]$ and $[b=c]$ then $[a=c]$, is the basic model upon which I developed the transitive property of legendry. The property states that "two measures or quantities which are equal to a third measure are themselves equal to each other" (mathcaptain.com). Similarly, the transitive property of legendry functions to connect two seemingly disparate things (in the above case, the Manona Terrace and the story of tragedy at Taliesin) by a common factor, (architect Frank Lloyd Wright). This is significant because it allows a tour company, constrained by access, time, and distance, to use and justify content that would not otherwise have fit into a tour. The formula—"A is equal to B and B is equal to C; Therefore, A is equal to C"—can be rewritten here as "The Manona Terrace was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright and Frank Lloyd Wright was an important figure in the story of Mamah's murder; therefore, the Manona Terrace has a logical connection to the murder of Mamah." By finding something that allows a transitive connection, a company can expand the potential

content that could be included in a tour. This is different from the acceptance of ambiguity in the folk legend trip because it is the purposeful use of that ambiguity to bend the boundaries of what can successfully be included in the tour rather than acceptance as part of the genre.

In order to function properly, the use of the transitive property relies on the idea of the simulacrum, which folklorist Jeannie Thomas discusses in the context of supernatural commodification in her 2015 chapter “Which Witch is Witch” published in *Putting the Supernatural in its Place*. Thomas adapted Jean Baudrillard’s model of the simulacrum for application to the folk concept of legend tripping. She defines the simulacrum trip as “a variant of a legend trip, but instead of traveling to a site with some sort of direct connection to legend or history, participants visit artificial sites, manufactured objects, and other obvious constructions that have no true, material connections to the story they tell” (Thomas 2015: 67). In the case of Frank Lloyd Wright, the Manona Terrace can be seen as a simulacrum for Taliesin—a place where nothing actually happened, but used for the particular purposes of the tour.

While the transitive property and the resulting creation of a simulacrum does not function in exactly the same way in Madison Ghost Walks as it does in the context of Logan Ghost Tours, it can be applied here in a broader sense. Instead of a singular person being used to justify connections between place and story, more general characteristics are being used to create simulacra for the purposes of the ghost tour. Unlike Thomas’ examples in Salem, these simulacra only exist within the context of the tour instead of as a separate entity, like the Salem Witch Museum. While they might have historic connections to *a* potential story that could be told about the space, they do not necessarily have the *right* connection for the purposes of the tour. This occurs within the context of Logan Ghost Tours in two distinct ways: geographic and situational similarities.

In the case of the Wells Fargo Building, the geographic location is consistent between the story and the tour's location; however, the physical location (the building itself) is not the same. The geography enables the connection of the Thatcher Opera House with the Wells Fargo Building. While the Thatcher Opera House burned down in 1912, the Wells Fargo Building is built on the same foundations and can therefore stand in for the building that is no longer present for the purposes of talking about historic tragedy. On a more general level, one thing can stand in for another of a similar thing. In this case, the second story of the JR Edwards building acts as a simulacrum for another second story window through which a child fell to her death on Main Street.

For the story in the J.R. Edwards building, there is a direct connection—the story historically took place in the location where it is being told—that relieves the need for a simulacrum. When this is not the case, these simulacra are invoked through the use of narrative and language in the story content of the tours. When a direct connection cannot be established, the storyteller is responsible for establishing the connection between the location of the tour group and the place being invoked by the story.

However, the transitive property is not necessarily straightforward. Two examples from my research provide evidence of when the property was shown to be limited, which offers a more nuanced view on the concept. In the case of the story told at "Stacked Pancakes," there is a stronger transitive connection that could have been made that the story (and the tour company) doesn't take advantage of. My research shows that while the location did indeed sell caskets and undertaker goods in the late 19th century, and a funeral parlor was opened a few blocks away under the same family name in the early 20th century [Image 12], there is no record of embalming and funeral preparations, as featured in the story of Paula Gundy, at that location.



Image 12: Advertisement for G.W. Lindquist in Logan's 1929 Polk Directory. The connection to a historic funeral parlor was sacrificed in order for the transitive property to remain hidden from guests.

One must ask, then, why the tour company did not make the character of the story reflect the family name that was associated with both caskets and the local undertaker. It seems that while this information could have produced a stronger historical connection, it would have required the disclosure that the funeral parlor was located at a different physical location than that of the tour stop. They would need to openly admit that the location at 31 N Main, for the purposes of the ghost tour, was a full simulacrum, albeit with historical precedents. One can assert that maintaining the façade of a fictional funeral parlor is more valued than a stronger historical connection. This reveals an important boundary for the successful use of the transitive property: in order to function in the ideal way, the transitive property must be hidden from participants.

Additionally, there was at least one tour group that was told the story of the J.R. Edwards building and the murder of Officer McNearny while standing in an adjacent building; for some reason their access to the space was compromised¹⁶. Individuals on this tour stated that the stop did not make much sense and I propose that this might have been one factor that led to an overall poor reception of the ghost tour. In this case, the original story did not need a simulacrum because of the connection between legend and location. When the tour company was placed

outside of the space, there were no conventions in place to connect the new space to the story. In the transitive equation—if $[a=b]$ and $[b=c]$ then $[a=c]$ —one element of the equation was completely unrelated and therefore could not be used to complete a successful application of the transitive property. Another example of this would be if the tour company tried to tell the story of the child falling to her death while on the ground floor of a building. In this case, the transitive property would be twice removed, which is not a good enough connection. There seems to be allowance for one link to be made (second story window to second story window), but not for two links: ground story to second story to second story. This is an additional boundary for the successful use of the property.

Therefore, in Logan Ghost Tours, the tour company is dealing with the constraints of access, time, and distance by employing simulacra when historic and legendary material cannot be applied to the locations selected for the tour. The tour company makes use of the simulacra through an application of the transitive property, which exists to provide an explanation for the ambiguity of locations that may not obviously connect to the stories being shared. This kind of ambiguity, absent in folk legend trips, must be addressed in the commodified version of the legend trip: the ghost walk.

Conclusion

The example of Logan Ghost Tours is significant because it shows the purposeful use of a modified folkloric genre by a community organization. Logan Ghost Tours has recognized the rising popularity of haunted heritage tourism and developed a structure for a seasonal event that appeals to this interest while featuring local history and buildings. The local history is the content, or “stuff” that is being commodified within the act of the legend trip, which has also been commodified. While they have attempted to imitate the folk legend trip, there are several

constraints that the tour company faces and specific ways in which they deal with these constraints that differ from the solutions proposed by the folk activity. As I have demonstrated, the constraints exist in both variations of this activity, but the acceptable ways of dealing with those constraints is altered by commodification, which often includes the manufacturing of authenticity to provide a mimicry of the folk process that is enjoyable, believable, and meets the expectations of its guests.

Those responsible for the tour have adapted to the constraints of legend tripping in a way that is suitable for those participating. Annually they deal with issues of legal, physical access to locations, tour time, and travel distance while formatting a tour for the public. However, there are some ways in which they are still figuring out the differences between the folk legend trip and the commodified variant. One element that stands out is a potential misunderstanding of the elements of a legend trip and the idea that scary material is good enough. In order to fulfill the ostensive purposes that make the legend trip such a popular event, the material must fit the genre of the legend; it must be told as believable. For this reason, the inclusion of theatrical pieces indicates a continued development on the part of the Downtown Alliance in their effort to bring Logan's spooky heritage alive each year. Based on my research with Logan Ghost Tours, being scary is not enough; participants have a desire to encounter material that they believe could be true and present in their city.

In many cases, cultural commodification is viewed in a negative light because of the construction of “authenticity” for the tourist gaze that minimizes true experience for those being commodified; in the case of haunted heritage tourism, I assert that the tours themselves offer the potential for the de-commodification of the material by the folk. Because folk legend trips can deal with constraints in different, less institutionally regulated ways, it is entirely possible that if

the stories told in the Logan Ghost Tours resonate enough with listeners, people may return on their own to share and experience the stories again. Much of the content that has been attached to the built environment of Logan could be reinserted into the discourse of Downtown. This would fulfill Kinsella's circular structure of the legend trip by adding new stories to the existing legends that inspired the trip in the first place. In addition, this kind of heritage tourism can also offer legal variations of the often-illegal folk activity and function to increase the demographic interacting with this kind of behavior and material.

Through the purposeful selection of buildings and stories, the Logan Downtown Alliance has brought attention to specific locations and highlighted their significance to the town within the context of the tour. Regardless of the historical accuracy of the tour's content, the Downtown Alliance and their collaborators continue to identify meaningful spaces in Logan and fill them each year with stories and many diverse people to experience them.

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¹ This fictionalized account is based on personal experience narratives found in the Fife Folklore Archives in Utah State University's Special Collections.

² In 1997, a scandal hit Logan when thirty-eight teens were caught trespassing at “the Nunnery” and were “assaulted...held at gunpoint, and shackled by the neck by the property's caretaker and his companions” (Gabbert in Thomas 2015: 147)

³ While many studies identify legend tripping as an adolescent activity, other scholars have developed models of the genre that can be applied to more diverse demographics.

⁴ While the 2017 season did fully book some of its tours, there were still tickets available online when October (and the tour season) began.

⁵ This structure was used in the 2017 tour season, but included more groups and one additional stop.

⁶ Here, referring to physical access for diversely-abled individuals.

⁷ Interestingly, this front page also contained a much smaller story on the sinking of the Titanic.

⁸ Recorded October 2016 by K. Schroeder

⁹ Department store

¹⁰ The tabernacle is a building used today as a community house of worship for members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, who are known for their abstention from liquor.

¹¹ Recorded October 2016 by K. Schroeder

¹² A local authority in the LDS church.

¹³ Recorded October 2016 by K. Schroeder

¹⁴ It is important to note that Logan Ghost Tours also provides tours that are accessible in the more traditional sense of the term. These tours are offered during select times each tour season.

¹⁵ Until the 2017 tour season, which included the Lyric Theater and the story of the murder of Everett Jones.

¹⁶ This information was provided to the author by other participants of the 2016 tour.